

NOTE

cc GMR.
FILE ✓

Date: 29th March 1996

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Nigeria Group Crisis Situation Review

Please find attached a note for distribution to CMD in anticipation of this item on 2nd April 1996.

Phil Watts

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HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL**The Nigeria Situation****1. General Situation**

- Media attention specifically related to Shell in Nigeria has remained light during March, the most prominent articles referring to the Bongo-1 offshore discovery by SNEPCO. Some coverage was also given in the Nigerian press to allegations of non-payment of customs by SPDC, as well as gas supply interruptions to the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA). On a positive note, the opening of a hospital in Egbema by SPDC was given good local coverage and a special TV feature is expected to appear shortly.
- There is still considerable international press interest in Nigeria itself, however, which has covered a range of issues from the local elections to the meningitis epidemic and cases of banking fraud. There have been visits to Nigeria, both official and covert, of several television film crews, including ABC News from the USA, and from the UK the Channel 4 'Africa Express' programme (broadcasts scheduled for the 4th and 18th April) as well as, of most concern, the BBC 'World in Action' team.
- Some recent UK newspaper articles have given the Ken Saro-Wiwa (KSW) story a different slant, exemplified by an article in the Guardian entitled 'A Tainted Hero'; the Sunday Times also featured an interview with KSW's wife and son that puts him in a different light.
- Sustained campaigning by action groups in several European countries and the US, commonly featuring live appearances by Dr Owens Wiwa, continues to maintain high levels of awareness among opinion leaders, requiring concerted campaigns of briefings etc. to contain.
- The main focus of attention is now upon corporate issues in advance of the Group AGMs in May, following extensive dialogue with organisations representing shareholder interests, such as the Pensions Investment Research Consultants (PIRC) and the Ecumenical Committee for Corporate Responsibility (ECCR), as well as the Methodist Church. There is some evidence that the change in Shell's communicating style from defensiveness to greater self criticism is having some impact upon such groups.
- Meanwhile the situation on the ground in Nigeria also remains relatively quiet. In contrast to the frustrated efforts of local diplomats, Brian Anderson was successful in gaining access to the Head of State. The expectation remains that any decision regarding the Ogoni 19 is likely to be delayed.
- Despite the above positive trend, it must be recognised that keeping the situation under control is still entirely dependent upon the fate of the 'Ogoni 19', the impact of campaigns/programmes outside Nigeria, as well as any cross-over effect of other Group crises.

2. Significant Developments

- PIRC finally produced their report entitled 'Controversies Affecting Shell in Nigeria' on 4th March, recommending shareholders to consider lodging an AGM resolution in the light of Shell's response to the report's recommendations. A letter of response was sent and news of the outcome of their meeting with shareholders on 22nd March is awaited.
- MGDMS and Alan Detheridge had a friendly and fruitful meeting with two representatives of ECCR, who reported that they had been unable to generate sufficient support for a shareholder resolution.
- The main news from the USA has centred on the Clinton administration's so-far unsuccessful attempts to lobby support from the EU and other countries for more extensive sanctions against Nigeria. The reaction of the US Government is being largely driven by a coalition of black Americans, mainly veterans of the anti-apartheid campaign such as Randall Robinson. Whether the US would be prepared to take significant unilateral steps is uncertain.
- Although the European Union (EU) was reportedly lukewarm to the proposals, it is worth noting that the Africa Caribbean Pacific (ACP)/EU Joint Assembly, meeting in Windhoek,

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welcomed the US call for tougher sanctions against Nigeria and urged the ACP Council and EU Commission to consider an oil embargo.

- The United Nations has sent a fact finding mission to Nigeria to investigate the KSW trial at the invitation of the Nigerian Government. Judging from the above, there is a very real risk that the issue of oil sanctions could gain greater momentum within the context of the UN than it has done so far on an individual nation-to-nation political basis.
- In the UK, Brian Anderson and MGDJJ had a good meeting Baroness Chalker at which they were able to share some of the information gained from the meeting with General Abacha, the British High Commissioner in Lagos being unable at present to gain such access. They were also able to advise on the likely impact of sanctions as proposed by the US Government would have on the NLNG project.

A minor success was scored when the States of Jersey voted overwhelmingly to renew the disputed airport depot lease, with only one vote against and two abstentions. This followed a short feature on the BBC 'Newsnight' programme which included an interview with the local company CEO. Despite the positive outcome, Richard Boele of Body Shop signalled that this was typical of the style of campaign against Shell (i.e. involving local government bodies) that would be pursued; indeed, whilst such minor crises are easily created, resolving them requires considerable effort.

Shell recruitment teams have encountered hostility at some Universities, even from students groups not normally associated with militant action such as Cambridge geologists. Briefing packages have been prepared to assist in correcting misconceptions and giving a fuller appreciation of Shell's actions in Nigeria.

A three day 'Green Screen' festival of environmental films was held in London, which included a series of films on Shell followed by a panel session involving *i.a.* Anita Roddick and KSW's sister. The event was poorly attended and attracted no media comment. Roddick also received an award at the One World Conference and Media Awards event, but did not use the occasion for making anti-Shell publicity.

- There has been little mention of Shell in Nigeria in the Netherlands press, this having been largely displaced by other news (e.g. Curacao, Turkey), although Cameron Duodu has kept up a regular stream of articles in the NRC Handelsblad.
- Germany continues to be the most PA sensitive country for the Group in Europe, despite a temporary lull in the mail campaign. Here Lazarus Tamana, Secretary General of the Ogoni Foundation, and Peter Donatus, an exiled Nigerian student, have been vocal in calling for boycotts of Nigerian oil and Shell in Germany. The Green Party continues to table boycott motions in city parliaments, most recently in Duisberg, and sporadic actions centred upon Shell petrol stations continue.
- In Austria, there has been a second (unsuccessful) attempted firebombing in Graz, this time of OMV's depot. A letter was found citing Nigerian crude acquisitions as the reason for the attack.
- In Scandinavia, 'Oilwatch', a new coalition of NGO groups including MOSOP and 'Environmental Action Right' (Oronto Douglas), has been formed to focus upon company ethics and the environmental responsibility of oil companies. This appears to be in response to disappointing reaction to actions such as the boycott campaign against Shell Svenska which the Society for Nature Conservancy has now called off.
- Most recently Italy has joined the list of European countries in which Shell in Nigeria has emerged as an issue, although only so far with student environmental groups.

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HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL**3. Current Initiatives**

- A briefing package stating Shell's position on the Ogoni 19 has been compiled and sent to all OPCOs to assist in responding to campaign letters and enquiries from contacts, as well as to provide a response in the event that the issue flares up once more.
- SPDC are currently finalising production of the environmental film together with the 1995/96 environmental report, which is also being produced in the form of a pamphlet for wider issue.
- A 'friendly' journalist, together with a photographer, has visited Nigeria assembling material for a series of press articles. The material gathered, together with extracts from the environmental pamphlet, will also be used to update the Shell in Nigeria WWW page.
- Charles Goodson-Wickes, a British MP, doctor and lawyer, has been invited to visit Nigeria for a week in April/May to provide a counter to the extravagant medical claims commonly made by Dr. Owens Wiwa in his speeches.
- The strategy of countering publications and programmes including factual inaccuracies with appropriate legal response continues, and grounds for defamation have once again been reviewed for several recent articles, including those appearing in the expatriate Nigerian press, Anita Roddick's recent letter to the Economist and the Green Screen event. A low key, statesmanlike PA strategy is being developed to take advantage of the positive advice of the Advertising Standards Authority on Shell's complaint against Greenpeace, Body Shop and Friends of the Earth which is to be made public on 10th April, bearing in mind that counter actions are still under consideration.
- With the benefit of three month's experience, and building upon learning points from other recent crises, the Nigeria crisis organisation has been further improved, clarifying individual roles, shortening lines of communication and increasing support from the EP BusCom. There is also a clearer separation of the Strategy Team from the Operations Team, the latter now reporting to Alan Detheridge with full accountability for day-to-day decision making.

4. Main Issues

- The attached calendar of events, started in January, gives a comprehensive list both of the important events which have taken place and which are anticipated over the coming months.
- Prior to the Commonwealth Conference, attempts will be made to arrange a meeting with the Secretary General with Sir Anthony Ackland, and Alan Detheridge will be seeing the Head of the Political Section.
- The Royal Geographical Society Nigeria Forum Debate, scheduled for 15th April and in which Brian Anderson will participate, is expected to generate considerable interest. There is some concern on the part of the RGS that the faction of 'concerned geographers' who are not well disposed towards Shell may attempt to dominate the proceedings, and assistance is being provided to ensure balanced attendance.
- The World in Action programme, likely to appear in late April, is likely to be critical of Shell, and steps are being taken to determine to whom they have spoken and what they are likely to have filmed during their visit in order to be able to respond specifically if approached for comment.
- Although time is running out for the submission of shareholder resolutions, the AGMs in May are certain to attract considerable attention, and a strategy for handling what can be expected to be more than usually aggressive reactions from the floor is being developed.
- Structured exercises at a corporate level to review the Group's Environmental and Human Rights policies, and in that light to propose modifications to the Statement of General Business Principles, have been set in motion.

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- Consideration is being given to inviting NGO representatives to Nigeria, bearing in mind the serious downside risk of those of questionable integrity.
- Options are being reviewed for a Shell initiative to be seen to be encouraging reconciliation within the Ogoni community.

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Attachment: Calendar of Events 1996

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List 2

NIGERIA ISSUE - CALENDAR OF EVENTS 1996

4 January	Ogoni Day, demonstrations planned plus silent procession carrying 6 ft crosses from Shell Centre to Nigerian High Commission in the morning.
9 January	Shell UK meet Thilo Bode and Peter Melchett (Greenpeace).
11 January	MGDIJ hosts dinner with Brian Anderson for Conservative MPs. Judicial review will decide on deportation of Ade Onibiyu to Nigeria.
14-16 January	OpCo Nigeria liaison group workshop, Ascot, UK.
15 January	Demo planned in Washington DC by Nigerian Democratic Awareness Committee.
17 January	Presentation by Mark Moody-Stuart of Shell Technology Development Award at World Aware Business Awards at the Royal Institute.
17 January	SPD Parliamentary Group (proposed attendees - John Barry with Hans von der Linde).
17 January	Metro Toronto City Council reconsiders rejection of Shell Canada fuel contract bid (greenpeace lobbying councillor to stand by original decision)
19 January	Oxford City Council's 'Festival of Black Culture' event, focusing on the Ogoni issues.
20 January	Shell Better Environment Awards in Hong Kong sponsored by Shell HK and FOE HK.
23 January	Commission for Development and Cooperation of the European Parliament, Brussels. Owens Wiwa and Shell invited.
26 January	Students at York University are organising an event at the Global and International Centre.
1 February	The first UNPO (Unrepresented Nations and People's Organisation) Awards will be presented at the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the founding of UNPO. The UNPO Award Committee has already selected the winners; the names of the winners will be made public in mid-January.
1 February	The University of Oxford Union holding debate on democracy in developing countries.
Early February	Brent Spar home page joins Nigeria home page on the Internet.
9-11 February	Labour conference for MEPs and Local Government reps.

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15 February	Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Canada. NGO briefings plus visit to Irving Oil (Emeka Achebe and Alan Detheridge).
15 February	University of Derby, Faculty of European and International Studies holding lecture on Ogoni - presented by the General Secretary of OCA-UK and Mr Orono Douglas, a Nigerian Human Rights campaigner.
19 February	Meeting with UNPO
20 February	Internet reports demonstration against Shell in Washington DC
2 March	Australian Federal Election for House of Representatives and half of the Senate.
4 March	EC Environment Council.
9-10 March	Australian Grand Prix
11 March	Commonwealth Day.
12 March	Financial Times Nigeria supplement.
18-22 March	Joint EU-ACP Parliamentary Session, Windhoek.
18 March-5 April	UN 56th Session of Human Rights Committee in New York
20 March	One World Conference 1996 (London).
21 March	EU meeting of African Directors on proposed US sanctions.
22 March	PIRC meeting with clients.
24-25 March	Various activist groups in Finland to hold seminar in Helsinki, "Tighter reins on multinationals". Shell boycott demonstration to be held at same time.
25-26 March	Half-yearly meeting of World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD) Liaison Delegates (Vancouver), Peter Bright and Michael Brandt to attend.
26 March	DSAG results - Greenpeace demonstration on Turkey.
27 March	Emeka Achebe and Alan Detheridge to talk to Senior UK Labour MPs.
28 March	Emeka Achebe and Alan Detheridge to address All Party Parliamentary Human Rights Group in House of Commons.
1-3 April	7th Global Warming International Conference (Vienna).

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4 April	Screening of Channel 4 Africa programme (Part 1).
6 April-17 May	ECOSOC meeting on NGOs to debate updating UN/NGO links.
8 April	Advertising Standards Authority posts report on The Body Shop, FOE and GP flaring advert to subscribers.
10 April	Debate at the Association of the Bar of the City of New York: 'Human Rights, due process and the rule of law in Nigeria'.
11 April	MGDJJ to give annual Shell lecture to Glasgow University.
12 April	ST&T and Royal Dutch Annual Reports published.
15 April	Royal Geographical Society Forum on Nigeria - Brian Anderson and Ganalliel Onosode (NDES Chairman) attending.
15-19 April	UN International Conference on Environmental Pollution (Budapest).
16 April	UNED-UK Conference on "Green and Ethical Pensions" (PIRC is a sponsor and speaker).
18 April	Screening of Channel 4 Africa programme (Part 2, including SPDC).
18 April-3 May	UN Commission on Sustainable Development (New York)
22 April (to be confirmed)	World in Action programme, UK - this programme is broadcast on a Monday evening. This is probably the earliest date for screening. It may be shown later, ie closer date to AGM to maximise impact.
22-24 April	Commonwealth Conference (London)
24 April	Shell Canada shareholder meeting - Calgary
27 April-11 May	UNCTAD meeting to discuss economic growth/sustainable development (Joburg)
30 April	UNEP/ICC Advisory Panel on Business Charter (New York), Peter Bright to attend.
9 May	Announcement of Group Results for Q1 1996.
11 May	Workshop on "Britain's role in contemporary Nigeria", Cambridge University African Studies Centre (Shell invited to speak).
15 May	ST&T and RDS AGMs.
16 May	BCC hearing of Shell complaint - "Delta Force".
20 May	DSAG - Brian Anderson.
21 May	Livewire National Final, Waldorf Hotel, UK.

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25 May	CEF to make SUK sponsored speech to University of Wales media conference ('Not black and white but shades of green - a business perspective on reporting the environment').
June	3rd international conference on HSE in oil and gas exploration and production in New Orleans; Shell-sponsored, Thilo Bode of Greenpeace on a panel? (HSE/4, Koos Visser).
4-20 June	ILO annual conference (Geneva).
11 June	Shell talk to students at London Business School on Nigeria.
15-21 June	World Renewable Energy conference (Denver USA) - organised by World Renewable Energy Network.
18 June	Eneka Achebe and Alan Detheridge to attend Canadian Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs.
20 June	First anniversary of reversal of Brent Spar disposal decision.
24 June	ECCR Alan Christmas Memorial Lecture by John Barry (Slough).
25 June	EC Environment Council.
25-28 June	Aberdeen University conference on Ethics, Development and Global Values.
July	UN Session of Human Rights Committee in Geneva
4 July	Shell LSO Music Scholarship Final, Barbican.
8-19 July	Meeting of parties to Framework Convention to Climate Change.
1 August	Announcement of Q2 and first half 1996 Group results.
29 August	Q2/Q3: first results from NDES.
29 August	UE speech to Offshore Northern Seas Conference, Stavanger ('Out of sight but not out of mind - societal considerations in offshore development').
31 September-4 October	Labour Party Conference.
13-23 October	First session of the World Conservation Union (IUCN) Montreal.
14-18 October	Conservative Party Conference.
31 October	Announcement of Q3 and 9 months Group results for 1996.

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October/November	UN Session of Human Rights Commission in Geneva
9-13 December	First Ministerial conference of the World Trade Organisation (Singapore).
11 December	50th Anniversary of UNICEF.

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